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The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe

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COMPROMISE BRINGS END TO GANDHI FAST

Wins Fight for "Untouchables"
When Separate Elections Plan Is Abandoned

AGREEMENT THOUGHT HOPEFUL

Prospects Brighten for Successful Negotiations on Indian Question

The dramatic "fast unto death" of Mahatma Gandhi came to an end on September 26, when it was announced that a compromise plan affecting India's 60,000,000 "Untouchables" under the proposed federal constitution had been agreed upon. Six days before this the Indian leader had begun to deny himself all food because he disagreed with the British government's proposal that separate elections be held for the depressed classes. As he grew weaker with the passing of each day frantic negotiations were carried on between London and India and after many anxious moments an agreement was reached, which, it is hoped, will remove a most serious obstacle to the establishment of a federated India.

COMPLEX PROBLEM

The situation which again brought Mahatma Gandhi before the eyes of the world is complicated and confused in many respects. To understand it it is necessary to consider the events of the past few years—years of historic importance in India's long, uphill fight for the right to manage her own affairs.

Why is the Indian problem so difficult of solution? The answer is to be found in the character of India itself. Unlike many countries, India is not composed of people alike in race, language, religion and ideals. On the contrary it is divided in so many different ways that it is practically impossible for the people to unite on any single point. In India there are perhaps 320,000,000 people who belong to about 45 different races. These are again divided into some 2,400 tribes and castes. As many as 170 languages or dialects are spoken and nine principal religions are followed. The country is also divided geographically. Part of it is British India and the remainder consists of numerous "native states."

Thus we find that there are Hindus who are in a majority and number about 220,000,000, there are some 70,000,000 Mohammedans and there are Anglo-Indians, Christian Indians, Sikhs, Parsees and a host of others. Each of these has an entirely different point of view. But the difficulty lies deeper than this. Some of these races have such a profound hatred for others that the conflicts among them keep India constantly in a state of turmoil. This is well illustrated in the animosity which exists between the Hindus and Mohammedans. There is a traditional and bitter enmity between them. Whenever there is a celebration or public gathering of any kind in India it is almost certain to result in rioting between Hindu and Moslem. The one is ever awaiting the opportunity of striking at the other. With such dissension within India it is little wonder that there has been such difficulty in arriving at an agreement over the proposed constitution.

(Concluded on page 8, column 1)



SIR JOHN SIMON

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Sir John Simon, British Foreign Secretary, Is Central Figure in European Affairs

One of the most important personages in Europe today is Sir John Simon, British secretary for foreign affairs. Because of his position he is a central figure in every international controversy affecting the interest of Europe. He is closely associated with the vital Indian question because of his past work in that connection, and at the present moment he is a factor in the British cabinet crisis.

Sir John Simon's achievements are well known to the world. He first entered the cabinet as attorney-general one year before the war, he later became secretary of state for home affairs. His famous address brought an end to the great general strike in England in 1926, his work as chairman of the Indian Statutory Commission in 1927 marked the first decisive steps in the negotiations for an Indian constitution, and finally, his appointment as foreign secretary last year has brought him to the fore as one of the leading statesmen of Europe.

But it is chiefly as a man that Sir John Simon is interesting. He is the son of a non-conformist clergyman from whom he inherited his liberal viewpoint. He was poor at the time of his youth, but managed to take himself through Oxford by winning scholarships and cash prizes for various intellectual accomplishments. As a result, while he was poor when he entered Oxford, he did not have a difficult time while a student.

He was a brilliant scholar and a skillful debater, his prowess winning him the presidency of the Oxford Union Debating Society. While in college he would have contact only with intellectuals. His interest was only in scholarship and he was ready to forget completely the trying days of his early poverty. He made no attempt to acquire sympathy and understanding for less fortunate human beings.

After graduation from Oxford, John Simon rose to incredible heights in the legal profession until in 1914 his annual income amounted to \$250,000. Shortly after, he entered public life and has progressed constantly, eventually reaching his present high position.

Success has characterized the life of Sir John Simon in every respect. But it has been a hard and practical success. He is unemotional, unsympathetic and cold. These are his greatest weaknesses. They have been apparent in his law readings and in his reports on India. However, he is possessed of one of the keenest and most analytical minds in Europe. Whatever he does, he does with relentless precision like some powerful intellectual machine. He can go to the root of a problem perhaps better than any of his contemporaries. In fact, it has been said that, "for the power to seize ultimate legal principle, and to follow it out to its logical conclusion, he is certainly without a rival in the present generation."

POWER ISSUE RAISED IN PORTLAND SPEECH

Roosevelt Lays Down Program of Government Regulation and Ownership of Power

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMPARED

Hoover and Roosevelt Also Differ on Government Relation to Business

Again this week the Democrats occupy the center of the political stage. As this is written, Governor Roosevelt is completing the second part of his campaign tour across the country. He has delivered two major addresses since the last issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER appeared. On September 20, he outlined his views on the power issue at Portland, Oregon. Three days later he spoke before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, a nonpartisan organization of business men, on the subject of the government's relationship to private industry.

The Republicans' plans for the remainder of the campaign, however, have now been clearly mapped out. President Hoover himself has decided to deliver three important addresses outside of Washington, the first of which was given at Des Moines, Iowa, yesterday. Secretary Mills is at present traveling over the territory recently covered by Governor Roosevelt, answering the Democratic nominee on many of the questions raised during the latter's speaking tour. The Republican case will be fully presented to the voters of the nation before election day.

POWER

Meanwhile, we turn our attention to the two addresses of Governor Roosevelt. To an audience which filled the auditorium in Portland, and to a larger invisible radio audience, the Democratic nominee outlined his views on electric power. This question has been a burning issue in American politics for many years. It has come up in Congress time and time again. A group of progressive senators, both Democratic and Republican, led by Senator Norris of Nebraska, has constantly striven to have the government take over certain power plants and operate them in the interest of cheaper rates to the consuming public.

This question directly affects the life of every American citizen. Electricity has become a necessity. Not only does it provide light and heat for millions of homes but it is used also to run the wheels of many of our industries. The comforts of life, the general cost of living, the price of most things we buy is to some degree governed by the rate charged for the billions of kilowatt hours of electricity used every year.

The whole power issue has been made an important issue in the campaign by Mr. Roosevelt's Portland address. The position of the two candidates, and the two parties, is so clearly marked on few issues as on the power question. The candidacy of Governor Roosevelt is largely responsible for this. Power has been a favorite subject with him for a number of years. It has occupied a large share of his attention as governor of New York. As a matter of fact, he is said to have been carried into Albany "on a waffle iron" because of his constant pleas for cheaper

electricity rates. Thus, when he took up the question at Portland, he was not entering a new field.

ROOSEVELT'S VIEWS

For the most part, Mr. Roosevelt's Portland address was a restatement of his views on power. He believes that the general public is being exploited by the private corporations which generate, transmit and sell electric current. He is of the opinion that electricity rates are much too high and that with a reorganization of the industry and a new relationship between the government and the power companies rates could be substantially reduced. In this view, he shares the opinion of a number of serious students of the problem. To mention only one, Stephen Raushenbush, in his book called "The Power Fight," claims that the people of this country are paying "one million dollars a day more than they should in electric rates."

This means, of course, that the people of the nation are not using electric power to the limit of their capacity. If rates were lower, electricity would find more extensive uses. Additional appliances, such as waffle irons, electric ranges, radios, refrigerators, flat-irons and countless other modern fixtures could be used on a wider scale, thus rendering life more comfortable and agreeable.

Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken in his Portland speech to set forth a national program which, he believes, if put into effect will insure more reasonable rates to the consumer and protect the investor in electrical companies. To attain these ends, he would apply to the large corporations a set of regulations and restrictions hitherto unknown in this country. He joins progressive members of Congress in fighting the so-called "power trust" or the large financial corporations which control the manufacture, distribution and sale of electric power. These gigantic corporations have persistently exploited the consumer, according to Mr. Roosevelt, by charging high rates and resorting to dishonest practices. He referred to the propaganda carried on by the trust to prevent the government's tampering with their liberty—propaganda which has been carried to the schools. Pressure has been brought to bear upon men in political office, he declared, and many of the newspapers have upheld the power trust through their editorial columns.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Governor Roosevelt did not go so far as to recommend that the government step in and run the power plants of the nation. He believes that private companies should retain this privilege under certain regulations and with certain exceptions. The general principle underlying government ownership and operation was outlined as follows:

Where a community, city and county or a district is not satisfied with the service rendered or the rates charged by the private utilities (electric power companies) it has the undeniable right as one of its functions of government, one of its functions of home rule, to set up after a fair referendum has been taken, its own governmentally owned and operated service.

This privilege of any American community would, in the opinion of Governor Roosevelt, serve as a whip held over the power companies. The mere fact that the government, state or local, has the right to go into the power business itself would tend to keep the companies in line by rendering satisfactory service at reasonable rates.

Further support of the principle of government operation is found in his declaration that the four major electric projects—the St. Lawrence, Muscle Shoals, Columbia River and Boulder Dam—should be completed and operated by the national government. Speaking of these undertakings, Mr. Roosevelt said:

Here you have a clear picture of the four great Government power developments in the United States—the St. Lawrence river in the Northeast, Muscle Shoals in the Southeast, the Boulder Dam project in the Southwest, and finally, the Columbia river in the Northwest. Each one of these will be forever a national yardstick to prevent extortion against the public and to encourage the wider use of that servant of the people—electricity.

The electricity generated at these plants should, according to Mr. Roosevelt, be transmitted by private utility companies provided the private companies made their rates sufficiently low. Otherwise, the national government has the same right as a local or state government to sell the current directly to the consumer.

PROGRAM

In the matter of actual regulation of the power companies, Mr. Roosevelt outlined an eight-point program. Some of his

guilty of inflating, or watering their stock. There is, of course, no uniform method by which such inflation takes place but one of the simplest ways is as follows: A power company has assets valued at \$10,000,000. These include such things as generating plant, properties and equipment. It sells out to another company. Instead of listing the assets at their true value, or \$10,000,000, this second company "writes them up" \$10,000,000 and lists them on its books as worth \$20,000,000. Now, it can sell more shares of stock. It

state the Republican case on the power issue during the course of his present campaign tour. Until such a statement is made, however, we must confine our analysis to past Republican declarations on the question. The Republican platform urges "legislation to regulate the charges for electric current when transmitted across State lines." In his acceptance speech, President Hoover referred briefly to the subject by stating:

I have repeatedly recommended the Federal regulation of interstate power. I shall persist in that. I have opposed the Federal Government undertaking the operation of the power business. I shall continue that position.

A similar declaration is to be found in the president's message to Congress last December. From these statements, it is apparent that the Republicans are opposed to the policies of government ownership as enunciated by Mr. Roosevelt. It is their contention that the power business is more efficiently run by private organizations than it would be by the government, that the consumers are well served, and that rates have been constantly declining. They urge the regulation of such companies as operate across state lines in order to prevent abuses. It may be said that Mr. Hoover's policy has been one of leaving the business to private initiative. At any rate, he has not pushed any legislation designed to exert further control over the electric utility companies.

IN SAN FRANCISCO

When Governor Roosevelt addressed the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, he did not take up a controversial issue of the campaign but rather outlined his general political philosophy with particular emphasis on the relationship between government and industry. He amplified his views on the "new deal" to which he has been referring throughout the campaign. In developing the idea that "private economic power is a public trust" or that the large financial corporations which dominate our industrial life must serve the public interest rather than their own selfish interests, Mr. Roosevelt said:

Just as in older times the central government was first a haven of refuge and then a threat, so now in a closer economic system the central and ambitious financial unit is no longer a servant of national desire but a danger . . .

In other times we dealt with the problem of an unduly ambitious central government by modifying it gradually into a constitutional democratic government. So today we are modifying and controlling our economic units.

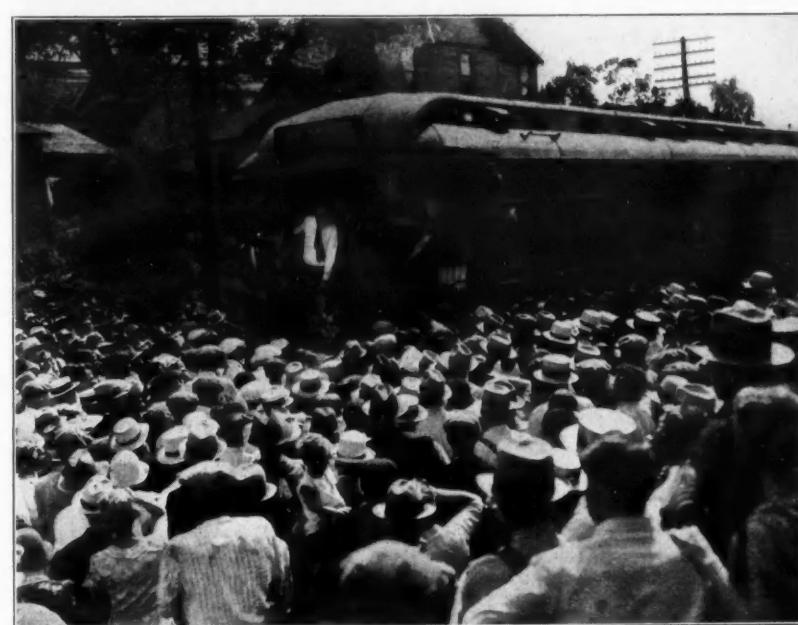
As I see it, the task of government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things . . .

New conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government.

The responsible heads of finance and industry, instead of acting each for himself, must work together to achieve the common end. They must, where necessary, sacrifice this or that private advantage, and in reciprocal self-denial must seek a general advantage. It is here that formal government—political government, if you choose—comes in.

Whenever in the pursuit of this objective the lone wolf, the unethical competitor, the reckless promoter, the Ishmael or Insull, whose hand is against every man's, declines to join in achieving an end recognized as being for the public welfare, and threatens to drag the industry back to a state of anarchy, the government may properly be asked to apply restraint.

This declaration definitely calls for changes in the relation of government to individuals. It marks a leaning to the liberal, or progressive, viewpoint of government. It is a sharp contrast to the political philosophy of Mr. Hoover as enunciated in his acceptance speech. The president gave a clear exposition of the conservative position in that address. He opposed changes in the structure of our government, believing that the principles upon which the government was founded should remain fixed. Private initiative should not be infringed upon, he declared. He appeared to be opposed to such innovations as national planning of industry under government supervision which is apparently one of the major planks in Governor Roosevelt's political philosophy.



© Wide World Photos
GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT PAUSES ON HIS WESTERN TOUR TO GREET A CROWD OF PEOPLE AT BELLEFOINTAINE, OHIO

points dealt with the method of computing electric rates. Others provided for stricter regulation of power companies operating in more than one state. Another called for closer cooperation between the Federal Power Commission and the various state public utility commissions in order to detect and arrest abuses. Finally, the governor outlined a number of proposals designed directly to do away with fraud, dis-

therefore disposes of an additional \$10,000,000 worth, making the total stock outstanding \$20,000,000.

TWO BILLION DOLLARS

The Federal Trade Commission, after investigating a number of the electric utility corporations, reported that they had "watered" their stock \$520,000,000. And the investigation is not yet completed. It is estimated by some that electric com-



© Wide World Photos
VICE-PRESIDENT CURTIS FIRES THE FIRST GUN IN THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA

honesty and unscrupulous practices on the part of power companies.

Mr. Roosevelt wants the "lights turned on" the activities of electric utility corporations. Publication of the facts concerning the men who control the organizations, of the assets of the companies, of their earnings, and of all their activities which affect the general public.

One of the principal functions of these regulations would be to put a halt to such practices as the "watering" of stock by power corporations. The Federal Trade Commission, a government organization, has during recent months uncovered very many instances where companies have been

panies in this country have inflated their stock more than \$2,000,000,000. The actual figures will be known, of course, only when the Federal Trade Commission has completed its investigation.

This writing up of assets has a direct bearing to electricity rates. The companies must pay dividends to the stockholders. These dividends are paid out of earnings, or from the money paid by consumers. When they have to pay six or eight per cent on \$20,000,000 worth of capital stock instead of \$10,000,000, the companies are naturally obliged to charge more to the consumers.

It is probable that Secretary Mills will

France, Agricultural and Individualistic, Is a Dominating Influence in Europe

Whenever an international development of any sort gets under way these days France is almost certain to be drawn into the picture. At sessions of the League of Nations her voice is likely to be decisive. She figures prominently in the deliberations regarding the Japanese violation of the Paris Pact. Nothing can be done at disarmament conferences without her consent. She is a central figure when problems come up relating to reparations and debts. No one can begin to understand world politics today without being acquainted with the French people, their objectives and their policies. What, then, are some of the characteristics, some of the problems and some of the aspirations of the French?

France is somewhat smaller than Texas and has a population about a third as great as that of the United States. There is a wide range of topography and climate. There are mountains, hills and plains. There is also a wide variety of vegetation. The nation is remarkably self-contained.

Better than any other country of Europe it could put a wall about its borders and still live, for the French people produce a very large share of what they consume.

France is one of the few modern nations which is not highly industrialized. Despite the fact that the population is fairly dense, half the people are engaged in agriculture. The farms are small and three fourths of them are cultivated by the owners. There are, to be sure, great industrial cities, but the nation as a whole remains agricultural.

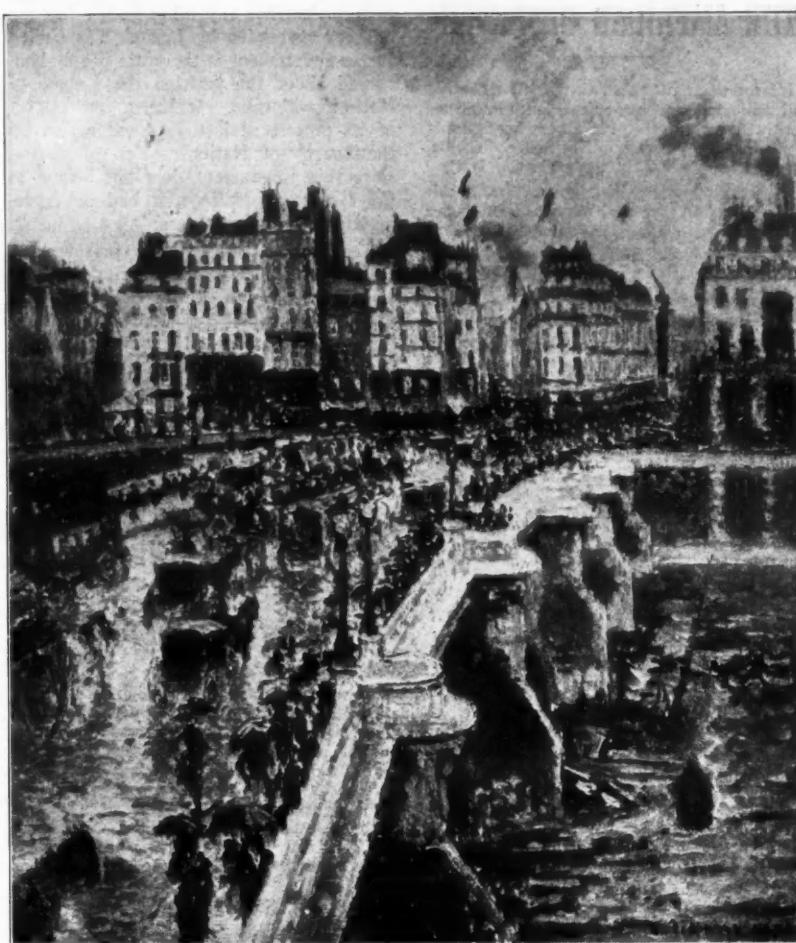
The French people are conservative. They are not anxious for change—even for the sort of change which most people think of as progress. They are conservative in their demands. They cling to old ways of life. They insist upon individual liberty, upon comfort, upon modest pleasures, upon security. They are a frugal people. The peasants are often cautious in spending, to the point of miserliness. Installment buying could never make headway as it does in the United States, for the Frenchman is very much disinclined to purchase anything which he cannot pay for. He is as "close" as the traditional Scotchman. But few Frenchmen are inclined, as so many Americans are, to seek wealth for its own sake. As soon as the Frenchman, by hard work and cautious saving, has amassed enough so that he can live comfortably and be secure, he is likely to retire, or else raise his standard of living. He does not chase after visions of wealth.

The French are a self-satisfied people. They do not worry about the state of their civilization. They think it is the best to be found anywhere. At least it suits them. They are not so much inclined to travel abroad as most people are, nor do they take readily to foreign languages. They are

not much concerned about what foreigners think of them. They are extremely loyal to their families and their communities.

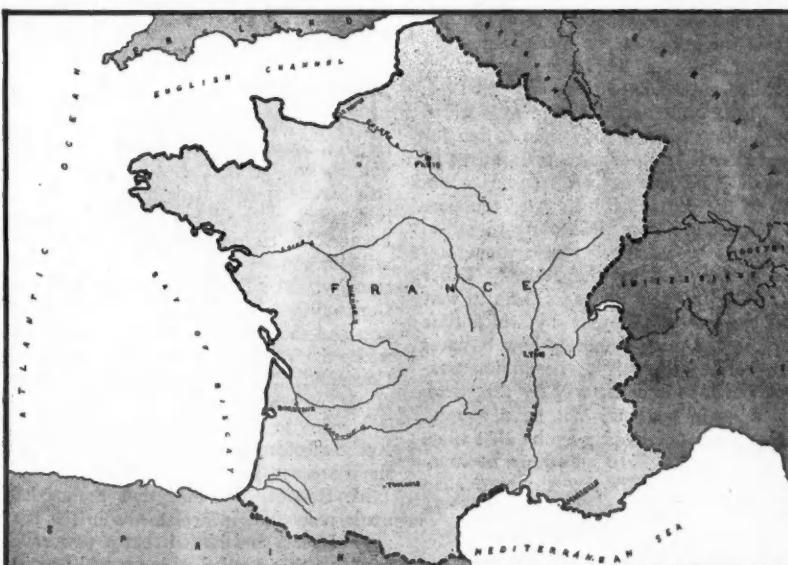
France has been a republic for half a century and republicanism is now firmly established. Political speeches in France abound with praise of the republic, and judging by the defenses in the speeches and reading the newspapers one might gain the impression that the country is threatened by Royalist agitation. There are, however, very few Royalists. Those who loudly defend the republic usually have in mind the possibility of revival of the power in politics and in education which the church formerly wielded. Feeling against church influence in politics is so strong that it is said that no cabinet member or prominent politician could go to church and still hope to retain his office. The protest is not against religion of itself, but against the influence of the church in politics.

The party situation is very different from that which prevails in the United States. There are a great number of parties, no one of which can expect at any given time to have a majority. The party divisions are not clear cut. They are more like our blocs, or groups, such as the farm bloc or progressive group, than they are like a definite political organization. It is a very common thing for a political leader to change parties. It often happens that members enter the Chamber of Deputies without having lined up for any party or group. They make their alignments after the session of the Chamber opens, and the course they take may be determined by



THE "PONT NEUF"—A RAINY AFTERNOON IN PARIS

From a painting by C. Pissarro reproduced in "My Paris" edited by Arthur Kingsland Griggs (MacVeagh-Dial).



—Prepared for THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN EUROPE TODAY

"France is somewhat smaller than Texas and has a population about a third as great as that of the United States. There is a wide range of topography and climate. There are mountains, hills and plains. There is also a wide variety of vegetation."

the favors they receive from one group or the other. The average life of a cabinet is about six weeks, but there is no great change in governmental policy when a cabinet falls, largely because the real work of government is done to a great extent by officials below cabinet rank who have a more permanent tenure.

The present prime minister is Edouard Herriot. For many years he has been mayor of Lyons, a manufacturing city on the Rhone, in east-central France. He is considered liberal or progressive, champions the cause of labor, and is as moderate in his attitude toward Germany as any Frenchman could be and still hope to maintain office. His policies are similar to those of the late Aristide Briand.

French foreign policy is dictated largely by geographical position. France is a Mediterranean power and also an Atlantic power. She feels that she must have a navy adequate for protection in both waters. Relations with Italy are not cordial. Relations with England are friendly, and yet as one looks back across the cen-

turies he sees frequent conflicts between the English and the French, and no one can tell what may happen in the future. And then there is Germany, twice an invader into the heart of France within the memory of men now living.

The French want security above all things. If it can be maintained by keeping Germany disarmed while France remains armed, that, think the French, should be done. That is why France wishes to keep the Versailles Treaty intact. She wishes to hold Germany in a position so that that country cannot strike. If this cannot be done, she would like a security pact by which England and America would agree to help her if she should be attacked, or she would like a strong League of Nations with an armed force at its call to insure against the threat of an aggressor. If France strengthens herself for defense and becomes so strong and so aggressive as to threaten the security of other nations, her course may be regretted, but can at least be understood.

References: VAN LOON'S GEOGRAPHY. By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Chapter 11; physical features, industries, national characteristics. THE NEW WORLD. By Isaiah Bowman. Chapter Four; economic interests, political aspirations, international problems. WHO ARE THESE FRENCH? By Friedrich Sieburg. National characteristics. MY PARIS. By Arthur Kingsland Griggs. Sketches of the French capital. COME WITH ME THROUGH FRANCE. By Frank Schoonmaker. Description of places and customs.

Soviet Russia has once again reversed its policy. In the early part of the summer, it will be remembered, a decree was issued by the Soviet government, allowing peasants to sell their products in city markets. It was thought that such a plan would be an incentive to peasants, as they would derive profit from their labors. However, a new decree has been issued by the Soviet Council of Labor and Defense, of which Stalin is a member, abolishing the earlier decree and ending the system of peasant sales.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Sikh (seek), Kshatriyah (kshut'ri-ya—i as in hit, a as in final), Vaishy (vaiz'ya—ai as in fail, a as in final), Sudra (sood'ra—a as in final), Baruch (bay'-ruk—u as in hut), Eamon de Valera (ay'mon da va-lay'ra—o as in hot, ay as in day, a as in final), Politis (po-leet'is—o as in hot, i as in it), Madariaga (ma-da-ree-a'ga—a as in art).



QUAINT HOUSES IN BRITTANY THAT HAVE STOOD UNDISTURBED SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES

Illustration from "Come with me through France" by Frank Schoonmaker (McBride).

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1932

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

THE Council of the League of Nations met in Geneva on Saturday, September 24, and the Assembly met on Monday, the 26th. The opening sessions were dramatic. The Council met under the presidency of Eamon de Valera, head of the Irish Free State. At the first meeting the question came up as to the procedure which should be followed in handling the problem arising out of Japan's seizure of Manchuria. The report of the Lytton Commission, which had investigated the Far Eastern dispute, was submitted to the Council. It is a report of 400 typewritten pages and it was announced that it would be made public on October 1. The Council decided that there would be a special session of the League Council and Assembly on November 14 to decide what action should be taken.

This, of course, is a momentous issue—one that affects the United States more vitally, perhaps, than any other question which the League has ever debated. By a series of acts which began a little over a year ago, the Japanese, against protests from the United States and other nations, drove the Chinese armies from Manchuria, a province of China, changed the name of Manchuria to Manchukuo, set up a government independent in name but really dependent upon Japan, and, without waiting for a report by the League commission which was investigating the matter, recognized the government of Manchukuo.

President de Valera, speaking officially for the League Council, rebuked the Japanese severely for the course they had taken. He declared it was a matter of regret to the Council that Japan had not deferred recognition of Manchukuo until after a League decision had been made. The Spanish delegate, Madariaga, also criticized Japanese action sharply. The interest of the United States government in this controversy comes from the fact that the United States and Japan are the two great Pacific powers, that the two are regarded as rivals, and that it is commonly assumed that the United States has more

to lose than has any other nation through military aggression by Japan. The United States government is therefore deeply concerned about the position the League of Nations will take. It hopes for support of its protest against Japanese action by the League of Nations. Yet, of course, since this government does not belong to the League of Nations, it had no representative to state its case.

According to custom, the president of the Council, this year Eamon de Valera, opened the session of the League of Nations Assembly and presided until that organization had selected its own president. Mr. de Valera delivered a sensational address to the Assembly, calling upon the League to enforce its rules against any of its members going to war in an unauthorized way. He declared that if the League is to have the respect of the world, or is to continue to exist, it must enforce its principles against great and powerful offenders as well as small ones.

The Assembly of the League chose as its president Nicholas Politis of Greece. He also delivered an address in which he said:

In widespread regions the horrible evil of war, alas, has reappeared. International organization has been powerless to prevent it. It was set to work immediately seeking to limit its duration and effects, but only mediocre results have been obtained. Therefore, the League must continue without relaxation until these fires are extinguished, while keeping constantly its eyes open, because there are signs of weakening in the spirit and will for peace.

PRESIDENT HOOVER has recommended to the executives of the railway companies that they hold up their demands for a reduction of rail labor wages until the end of the year. The companies had called for a general cut of 20 per cent in the wages of the men; that is, 20 per cent less than the basic wages which prevailed previous to February 1, 1932, and 10 per cent from the wage scale which was put into effect at that time to run for a period of a year. The representatives of the rail labor unions had refused to accede to the demand for further reduction. The companies were proceeding to set in operation the machinery for a wage settlement provided by the Railway Labor Act. The president now asks them to wait until the end of the year, by which time they can tell more definitely how business is to be. If there is to be an improvement and if it is under way by that time, reductions in pay may not be necessary. If things are not looking up by that time, the necessity of wage cuts may be more apparent. It appears that the president's suggestion, which, of course, is pleasing to the railway unions, will be accepted.

A NUMBER of organizations which have invested funds with railroad companies have joined together in the ap-

pointment of a commission to study the railroad problem, to find out why it is that the companies are having such a hard time and to recommend remedial measures by the government or by the companies themselves. The importance generally attached to this task is indicated by the eminence of the members of the commission. The chairman is Calvin Coolidge, and other members are Alfred E. Smith, Bernard Baruch, Clark Howell and Alexander Legge. The organizations participating in this action include many of the largest savings banks, insurance companies, and universities of the country—all organizations which have funds tied up in the railroads.

In the announcement of the appointment of this committee, Walter H. Bennett, president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank of New York, pointed to the fact that many of the great railroad companies are failing to meet their expenses and that the interests of 1,500,000 railway

workers were involved, that the railway industry contributed over \$300,000,000 annually in taxes, and that railway property represented an investment of nearly \$20,000,000,000. He declared further that the troubles of the roads do not come altogether from the depression, but that some of their difficulties are of a more permanent nature. It was felt, therefore, that a thoroughgoing investigation of the nature of the problems affecting the roads, and the character of possible remedies, should be undertaken.

A CRISIS in the British cabinet has occurred over the issue of the Ottawa Conference. This conference provided for a continuation of the British protective tariff duties and for an increase in certain duties as applied to nations other than the dominions. Naturally this going over so completely to a system of protection is distasteful to convinced free traders. The Labor party and the Liberal party have always stood for free trade, and the members of these parties who hold places in the so-called "national" cabinet are opposed to giving effect to the agreements made at Ottawa.

The issue became so sharp that several members of the cabinet resigned September 28. Sir Herbert Samuel, the home secretary, a Liberal leader of long standing, and Viscount Snowden, lord privy seal, Laborite, are among those who withdrew. The cabinet break has caused feeling to run high in England on the Protectionist issue, which was raised by the Ottawa Conference.

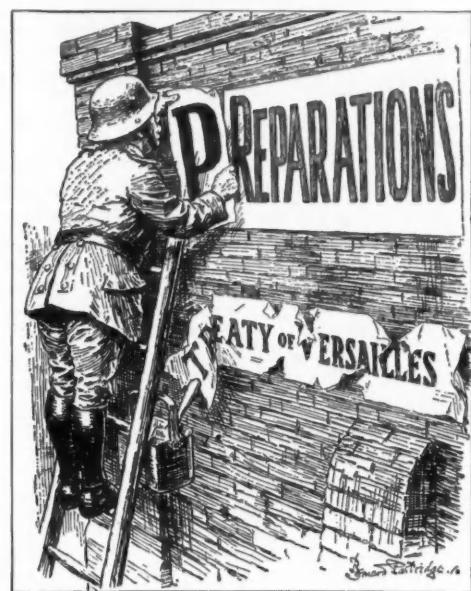
THE German armaments question took the form of a debate between Edouard Herriot, French prime minister, and Franz von Papen, German chancellor, last week. In a strong speech made on September 26 in Gramat, a small town in southwestern France, M. Herriot reiterated the French attitude toward Germany's plea for arms equality. The French statesman held that Germany was demanding the right to rearm and that such could not be permitted under the Versailles Treaty and the League Covenant. The only equality for Germany at the present time, said M. Herriot, lies in keeping to the policies of the League of Nations before which all nations large and small are equals.

M. Herriot contended that France had made reductions in armaments in the past several years and hinted that a new covenant is being studied which would provide for mutual guarantees of security and a reduction of armaments along the lines suggested some time ago by President Hoover.

Two days later Chancellor von Papen replied to M. Herriot's speech. The German chancellor vigorously denied all the charges made by the French prime minister. "M. Herriot's speech is the latest of a chain of French demonstrations which attempt to reverse the truth about the actual situation," said von Papen, "Therefore I state: The problem is not German disarmament but the fulfillment of the pledge by other nations to disarm."

Herr von Papen alluded to the now familiar argument advanced by Germany to support her case. After the war the victorious nations pledged themselves to disarm and imposed disarmament on Germany as the first step in this direction. Now, after more than ten years Germany is without equality and without security and feels that she should be permitted to reorganize her armaments.

DISCONTENTED Iowa farmers, supported by similar groups from Nebraska, Minnesota and South Dakota, were planning last week to dramatize their plight before the two presidential candidates. The National Farmers' Holiday Association, organizer of the farm strike



FOR DEFENSE ONLY
Germany: "I never did like the looks of that old word."
—PUNCH (copyrighted)

movement, urged farmers to assemble in Sioux City on September 29 and stage a parade before Governor Roosevelt as he delivered his address in that city. The same organization had already made plans for a similar demonstration before President Hoover at Des Moines on October 4 as he delivered his first address of the campaign.

Milo Reno, head of the Farmers' Holiday Association, announced that the farmers are anxious to have both parties realize the seriousness of the farmers' plight. "Our organization is not partisan," he said. "We believe Governor Roosevelt should be allowed to hear our protests the same as President Hoover." The general strike movement which has centered in the region of Sioux City had slowed up somewhat last week in anticipation of the two demonstrations.

THE League of Nations has taken an active hand in the dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia over the Gran Chaco territory. The Council in its meeting of September 27 decided to back the American nations in their efforts to bring the two disputants to a peaceful settlement. It telegraphed the governments of Paraguay and Bolivia, reminding them that "they are legally and honorably bound by their obligations to the League not to have recourse to armed force." The dispatch further urged the two nations to accept the peace proposals advanced by the commission of neutrals made up of representatives of different American nations.

This commission of neutrals has decided upon a new course in dealing with the Chaco dispute. First, it has urged the two nations to declare a truce. Should Paraguay and Bolivia agree to this, which they have not done at this writing, it will send a special group to the Gran Chaco region to investigate. This committee will make note if either side fires a shot and will report to the commission of neutrals on such violation of the truce. The commission will then decide upon a course of action. It may urge all American nations to remove their diplomatic representatives from the country guilty of opening hostilities.

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS, leading statesman of Greece during and since the war, was victorious in the general elections held in Greece on September 25. His party received a small majority over the chief opponents, the Royalists. As is the case in most of the European governments, owing to the large number of political parties in the field, Premier Venizelos will have to obtain the support of parties other than his own in order to remain in power. While his own party has less than 100 of the total 250 seats in the Greek parliament, Venizelos will have little difficulty in lining up other groups to give him a working majority.



A number of straw votes are being taken before election time. The results of these, while they indicate an expected trend away from the Republicans, are as yet inconclusive.

WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

DEBTS AND REPARATIONS

One of the most important and most vexing problems affecting the economic life of the world is that of international debts. The question as to how much Germany should pay the Allies and the further question as to how much these formerly allied nations should pay each other, and particularly how much America's debtors should pay her, and how the payments should be made—these questions have disturbed politics and they have disturbed business in America and throughout the world since the close of the war. The war debt question looms so large in American economics and politics that it cannot be ignored, and yet unfortunately the problems relating to it are so complicated that they are not easy of comprehension. Most people who talk glibly on the subject are ill-informed and come to hasty and unfounded conclusions. It is tremendously important, therefore, that there should be available to the American people a clear, simple and authoritative analysis of the problem.

Such an analysis has just been published by the Brookings Institution. This Institution is an organization which conducts investigations of economic problems for the purpose of aiding in the development of sound national policies. Its staff is composed of leaders in the field of economic research. From time to time the Institution publishes studies of economic problems. These studies are prepared by specialists in the field in which they lie and are criticized by other members of the staff so that "each investigation conducted under the auspices of the Brookings Institution is in a very real sense an institutional product." For more than ten years the economists of this organization have been especially concerned with reparation and debt problems. The president of the Institution, Harold G. Moulton, is an outstanding authority on this question. He, together with collaborators, has written "Germany's Capacity to Pay," "The Reparations Plan," and "World War Debt Settlements." Now Dr. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky, one of the staff economists, have written, and the Institution has published, "War Debts and World Prosperity" (Washington: The Brookings Institution, \$3.00). This book deals in a comprehensive way with reparations and debts. It discusses the origin of the debts and of reparations, the various settlements that have been made to date, including the recent Lausanne reparations settlement, the present status of the war debts, and the probable effects of their payment or non-payment. The conclusion reached is that:

1. A complete obliteration of all reparation

and war debt obligations would promote, rather than retard, world economic prosperity.

2. The collection of these inter-governmental debts would be economically detrimental, rather than beneficial, to the creditor countries.

This is a knotty problem with which the authors deal, but they have taken pains to clarify it. They have simplified it so far as possible and have explained the subjects treated so clearly that the book should have a wide popular appeal.

PIONEER DAYS

LeRoy MacLeod grew up on an Indiana farm, was graduated from an Indiana college, then went back to the home farm for a time before he took up newspaper work and later devoted himself to writing. So he knows Indiana. He knows the Middle West. Through remembered conversations, no doubt supplemented by study and research, he has become acquainted with the West of those pioneer days when Indiana was a frontier community. He is well equipped to write a story of the early times in the Mississippi Valley. He is equipped not only through the possession of historical facts but through the ability to write beautifully and effectively. And he has written a story which brings to life the rural Indiana of the period following the Civil War. He calls it "The Years of Peace" (New York: The Century Company, \$2.50). This is a story of everyday farm life, of work, of love, of remorse, tragedy, partial victory; those experiences common to so many. The action is slow and there is plenty of time for the reader to become intimately acquainted with the few men and women who move through the pages, and there is time and opportunity to see what life was like sixty years ago when the Middle West was new. John T. Frederick, editor of *The Midland*, who knows the literature of the West as few others do, in reviewing this book for *The Saturday Review of Literature*, says:

I have counted in the past, as the novels which have seemed to me, for their differences, alike in being really satisfying interpretations in fiction of the drama of the occupation of the Middle West, only five: Willa Cather's "My Antonia" and "O Pioneers;" Herbert Quick's "Vandemark's Folly;" Rolvaag's "Giants in the Earth;" and Walter Muilenburg's "Prairie." I am thinking now that when I have read "The Years of Peace" again, and tasted its pages more fully, I shall be ready to add a sixth to the list.

OUR GREATEST AUTHORS

"Just how important is current American literature? How much of it will be read and remembered a century from now? Which of our present literary figures, if any, will bulk large to our great-great-

grandchildren? Are we now in the midst of a literary renaissance, or in an era of stagnation?" These are the questions which Henry Hazlitt, literary critic, sets out to answer in an article which he contributes to the October *Forum*. He does not give dogmatic answers, but points out elements of greatness in a number of the literary men of our time and examines their chances of permanent appreciation. He thinks there are a number of talented writers of fiction in America and among them he names: Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Ring Lardner, Willa Cather, Edith Wharton, Evelyn Scott, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Branch Cabell, William Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, Thornton Wilder, Sherwood Anderson. He considers Theodore Dreiser's chance for survival best, despite the abominable style of that author.

Mr. Hazlitt names only one American dramatist, Eugene O'Neill. Among the poets he lists: T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, E. A. Robinson, Hart Crane, Robinson Jeffers, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Elinor Wylie, Leonie Adams, Archibald MacLeish, Conrad Aiken, Isidor Schneider, Horace Gregory, Stanley Kunitz, Ezra Pound. He thinks that we have no historian or biographer who is likely to be long remembered, though he names Charles A. Beard and James Truslow Adams as among our best.

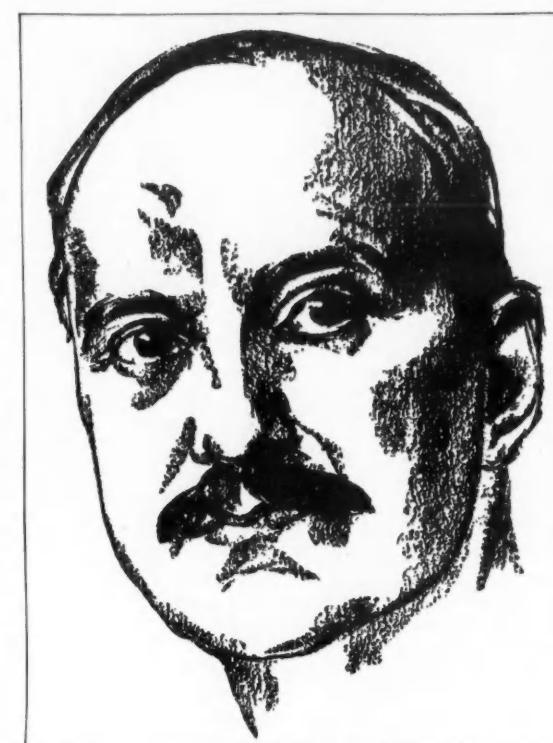
This critic places George Santayana at the top among our philosophers. He says:

But the greatest living American philosopher—if, indeed, we are entitled to consider him an American at all—is the half-Spaniard, who prefers to think of himself as a cosmopolitan, George Santayana. He is not only our greatest living philosopher, but by all odds our greatest living American writer. He is not read widely, and he may never be; his work is not currently discussed in any proportion to its real greatness: no matter. As Schopenhauer has remarked, the fame of philosophers is more distinguished for its length than for its breadth. But Santayana is no mere technical philosopher, like Locke or Kant; he is a philosopher in that broader sense in which Plato and Nietzsche were philosophers. What makes me so confident of his permanence is the sheer profusion of his gifts and virtues, and the harmony into which he has woven them. He is not merely our profoundest thinker, but also our most finished artist in prose.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

Stephen Leacock, Canadian political scientist and humorist, gives us another series of amusing sketches, "Afternoons in Utopia" (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, \$2.00). Mr. Leacock allows his imagination to run riot as he portrays a number of phases of life as it may develop in the years to come. He imagines visits to the Utopia of a hundred years or so from now. He pokes fun at many of the so-called progressive trends of our own time by assuming that they will reach the absurdities which he describes in his Utopia. Here is a fair sample from one of his introductory sketches, in which he describes a visit to this Utopia of a century hence:

That evening I banqueted with Dr. Oom and his friends in the great hall. The meal was served to us, not seated in our stiff fashion of today, but in the true Utopia pose of reclining lan-



GEORGE SANTAYANA
(From a drawing by Karl Woerner in *Forum*).

guidly on couches, while slipped attendants served us with exquisite viands as we reclined. Our discourse was accompanied by soft music proceeding from I know not where. During the meal, which was a prolonged one, Dr. Oom and his friends conversed enthusiastically of the altitude of the sun, of the binomial theorem, and of the multiplication table. Their talk, I perceived, was animated but never contentious. Just once for a moment something like controversy arose as to what was nine times eight, but it was only for a moment. For the most part, I realized, there was nothing to argue over, everything being long since settled; and in a world where nothing happened, there were of course no events or happenings to talk about. As a consequence conversation was able to move on the higher ground of eternal verities such as multiplication and long division.

"THE TIMES" CHANGES

As was announced recently the London *Times* made its appearance in a new dress on October 3. The type, the masthead, everything has been changed. But what of that? Do not newspapers frequently change their forms and styles? Not the *Times*. The Gothic masthead "The Times" has not been altered since 1788. The *Times*, in its old form, has become a tradition. The significance of the transformation of this newspaper becomes apparent when we take into account the place which the *Times* occupies as an English institution. Paul Cohen-Portheim, a German writer, has this to say of the great London journal in his "England, the Unknown Isle":

The *Times* is as much the pattern and model of the great political opinion-forming newspapers of all countries as the Parliament of Westminster is the pattern and the mother of all parliaments. . . . The *Times* is a Great Power, its correspondents are ambassadors and its world-wide standing is unique; it belongs, together with the Bank of England, the Navy and Parliament, to the immovable foundations of England's existence. It could afford to be more expensive than any other paper and need make no concessions to the bad taste of the masses; all it needs to do is to remain true to its traditions. It has its own political policy, mostly in agreement with the Foreign Office but sometimes in opposition to its plans.

Its political and war correspondents have often had a decisive influence in European politics; they are all over the place, and the news-service of the *Times* is unsurpassed; anyone who reads it carefully is informed on everything that is going on in the sphere of politics and economics all over the world. To read it like that takes a long time, and it is a paper that makes great demands of its readers, a paper that addresses itself to a select few. Its circulation is probably negligible compared with those of the sensational papers; for it is intended for the ruling class, not the masses. It is read by politicians, ministers, the leading figures in commerce and industry, by magistrates and officials, and the potentates who occupy the great country houses, the offices from which great enterprises are controlled and the leading positions all over the British Empire; and that is enough.



ILLUSTRATION FOR "YEARS OF PEACE"

SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS

Social Life in Colonies

LET us turn our attention this week to the social and economic life as it was found in the American colonies during the first century of their history. We shall not approach the period in a spirit of idle curiosity to see what strange customs prevailed in a far-off age. We are not interested in this period as something which was finished long ago. Our chief concern is with social and economic life as it is in America today and as it will be. We examine the colonial past because we recognize that there is no sharp break between that time and the present. We were then developing in America certain ways of living and thinking. We have continued in some of those ways. We are interested, therefore, in following the stream of development from those early days to the present.

If, for example, we find, as we do, that social democracy came to be a feature of colonial life and that it has continued to be a fact in American life, we will want to know the conditions under which it came into being and the conditions under which it has later been maintained. We may inquire whether those conditions are still present and whether we will probably experience them in the future. If so, social democracy would seem to be secure. If the conditions under which it has been maintained are passing away, we will be obliged to ask what other props we can supply to democracy, now that the old ones are failing us. In other words, we study past periods in order that we may see in them something that will help to explain problems of the present.

As a matter of fact there did develop in the colonies a greater degree of social democracy than was to be found elsewhere.

The American Dream

There was built into the hearts of the colonists a belief in their own future; a determination to be the equals of others. James Truslow Adams defines this sentiment as "the American dream." He says in "The Epic of America":

If a distinction had developed between the rich and poor, nevertheless even the poor were better off, freer and more independent than they had been in Europe. Above all, they had glimpsed the American dream—English, Irish, Scotch, Germans, all who had come to our shores, had come to find security and self-expression. They had come with a new dynamic hope of rising and growing, of hewing out for themselves a life in which they would not only succeed as men but be recognized as men, a life not only of economic prosperity but of social and self-esteem. The dream derived little assistance from the leaders in America. It was arising from the depths of the common mass of men, and beginning to spread like a contagion among the depressed of the Old World. It was already beginning to meet with opposition from the "upper classes" in the New, but it was steadily and irresistibly taking possession of the hearts and minds of the ordinary American. It was his Star in the West which led him on over the stormy seas and into the endless forests in search of a home where toil would reap a sure reward, and no dead hands of custom or exaction would push him back into "his place."

What, then, were the conditions under which this dream took "possession of the hearts and minds of the ordinary American"? In the first place, it is interesting to observe, as Mr. Adams suggests, that the democratic and aspiring spirit of America did not find a place in the hearts of men as a result of conscious planning on the part of the

leaders. It was not a case of theory first and fact afterward. The leaders in many cases were inclined to aristocracy. They would, if they could, have created a society after the pattern of that with which they were familiar in the old country. The democratic spirit was a reflection, then, not of predetermined ideas, but of ways of life into which the people fell.

The colonies found themselves living in a society which was more democratic than that which they had known. There was not such great inequality of wealth and position. There seldom is in a new and a raw country. And the men and women, seeing that there was a measure of equality, especially equality of opportunity, idealized that situation. They liked it. They looked upon it as the natural state of things in America. They believed it would continue. They saw people stepping from the lowly walks of life to the higher, and they had faith that upward strivings might always be realized. In other words, the "American dream" took possession of them. It was a case of a democratic way of life first, and of democratic theory afterward.

How Democracy Developed

One condition making for democracy and relative equality and for the realization of dreams of progress was the fact of abundant land. Coupled with this fact of abundant land was a land policy under which, in most of the colonies, it was relatively easy for one to secure title to a farm. In New England a group of individuals might petition the general court or legislature for a grant. A committee of that body would then measure off a piece of land, perhaps a township six miles square. This land would be conveyed to the petitioners. They were obliged to reserve a part of it for a church, a burying ground, a school. They set off other stretches for common pasture and woodland. The rest was divided among them and became their own property. In the southern colonies, individuals paying their expenses to America were given tracts of ground. In Pennsylvania, and some of the other colonies, persons who settled on unused public land were later given title to it upon the payment of a small purchase price. If there had been no vast stretches of

territory beyond the mountains, the free land would soon have been gone. The country would have become more settled. It would not have been so easy for the landless to acquire farms and homes. But there was a vast territory beyond the mountains. It stretched all the way to the Pacific. Generation after generation pushed ever farther into this new territory. Families carved out homes for themselves. One frontier followed another, ever to the westward. After the first strips of the new land became settled, adventurous and land-hungry souls pushed on to the west. There was always a frontier. Opportunity ever beckoned. There was always the chance for the dispossessed to lift themselves upward by acquiring land. And so the conditions making for equality of opportunity continued; and since the fact of relative equality of opportunity was there, the theory of it was also proclaimed. The "American dream" remained alive. The American people continued to believe that it was worth while to aspire to higher things—that each one of them might hope to achieve the highest places in society.

The Dream Today

They still have that hope today. It is one of the characteristics of the American people. It is one of the marks by which we may be differentiated from others. The farmer,

the worker, the poorly paid clerk, all dream of the time when they will assume positions of wealth and power.

Each man feels that he is as good as his neighbor, regardless of the position which today his neighbor may hold. That is one of the reasons why it is so hard for labor leaders to build up a class conscious labor movement, such as may be found in European nations. The American worker hesitates to join wholeheartedly into a labor movement because he has a notion that in a year or two he may step out of the laboring class. Farmers, however poor, are inclined to look upon themselves as potential capitalists. Clerks, poor but aspiring, dream of the day when they will manage the business.

Is there as much ground for hope as there formerly was? Do the economic facts of today justify the optimism which the average American feels? Does he have as good a chance to step forward and upward as he had in colonial days, or during

the nineteenth century? If he does not have it—if, as a matter of fact, opportunity is not here—the dream of it after a while will die. All the talking and theorizing and preaching about opportunity will not keep alive the fires of hope if opportunity itself is not present. If America is to share the fate of most other countries which have become settled, then eventually the American people will quit dreaming of things which are no longer true and will formulate social and political philosophies in keeping with economic facts.

But what of conditions today? We must recognize the fact that the conditions which produced relative equality of opportunity in the old days and

What of the Future?

which gave rise to democracy, theoretical and real, are passing away. The frontier is gone. Free lands are gone. The means which

have formerly been seized for leveling up no longer exist. We are becoming settled. Business is no longer done in the main by the small business men, but by great corporations. Agriculture has reached a crisis and many people believe that the day of the small farmer is passing—that large-scale corporation farming will take its place. We are becoming a highly industrialized nation.

A way may be found by which the poor and dispossessed may come into the possession of that which will give them independence and influence. But it will not be the same thing of which they became possessed in the earlier days. It will not be free land. We cannot maintain the old dream in the old way. We can maintain the fact of opportunity, and consequently a philosophy of democracy and of hopefulness, only if we find out how, in a highly industrialized society, to maintain individual liberty, individual initiative and an opportunity for each individual to share industrial gains in accordance with the contribution which he makes.

Other nations have not found a way to do this. Other old societies, other highly industrialized nations, are more stratified in social organization. People are divided more than they are here according to class. It is harder to rise from one station to another. The average individual is less hopeful of rising than he is in America. Perhaps Americans, under conditions which

elsewhere have not made for equality of opportunity or for social democracy, may nevertheless maintain those ideals. But the fact that conditions upon which these ideals have hitherto been realized are passing away should stir Americans to a realization that democracy and opportunity are not free gifts of the gods; that the times call for thinking and planning.

"We have a long and arduous road to travel if we are to realize our American dream in the life of our nation," says James Truslow Adams in the concluding chapter of the book which we have quoted, "but if we fail, there is nothing left but the old eternal round. The alternative is the failure of self-government, the failure of the common man to rise to full stature, the failure of all that the American dream has held of hope and promise for mankind." If we are to succeed, Mr. Adams declares, we must distribute wealth more justly and then we must learn how to live better and richer and more satisfying lives. If the necessities of life are assured to all, non-material achievements will follow.



A PUBLIC AUCTION IN COLONIAL DAYS
People mingled together freely in colonial times. The opportunities of life were fairly equal and conditions were favorable to democracy.

(Culver Service)

Personalities of Men Who Have Been Active in the Affairs of the Week

"A SMALL square-shouldered man—a sort of human dynamo—is sweeping through New York's political picture," says an Associated Press report from New York. The man is Mayor McKee, who assumed the headship of our greatest city on the retirement last month of dapper "Jimmie" Walker. The new mayor is slashing costs right and left, to the embarrassment and loss of political favorites who long have profited by rich contracts, extravagantly bestowed. He has reduced his own salary from \$40,000 a year to \$25,000 and has cut the pay of the higher salaried city employees, while protecting those receiving less than \$2,000 a year from reductions. He has taken steps looking toward the efficient administration of unemployment relief. He has announced that the budget will be cut \$100,000,000. He has closed the flagrantly indecent burlesque shows in the city. He has, temporarily at least, upset Tammany's plans to have a new mayor elected in November by securing court action holding that he may serve out the full unexpired term of Mayor Walker, or until January 1, 1934. Who is this new mayor?

Joseph McKee was born in the Bronx, New York, August 8, 1889, son of Scotch parents. He attended the public schools and sold newspapers on the streets. He attended Fordham Preparatory School and Fordham University, working his way by tutoring and writing for newspapers. He studied law during vacations. After he graduated he held a position for a time on the Fordham faculty, teaching Latin and Greek. From 1916 to 1918 he taught English at the DeWitt Clinton High School and continued his study of law. At length he was admitted to the bar. He was interested in politics and in 1918 was elected assemblyman and served until 1924. At that time Governor Smith appointed him to the city court bench. He was elected for the full term the next fall by an overwhelming majority. After a year of service on the bench he was elected president of the Board of Aldermen, which position he held until the resignation of Mayor Walker automatically elevated him to the office of chief executive.

ANNIVERSARY YEAR

Nicholas Murray Butler is celebrating three anniversaries this year—the seventieth of his birth, the fiftieth of his graduation from college, and the thirtieth of his term as president of Columbia University. For many years he has been one of our outstanding leaders of political thought. He is concerned about constitutional issues, international relations, and problems of practical domestic politics. A few days ago he published a plan by which, he asserted, the nation



© Acme
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

might abandon prohibition with assurance against the return of the saloon. He stands in the forefront of those who oppose prohibition, believing it to be an influence contrary to individual liberty and as a force making for lawlessness. He has worked untiringly for the development of friendly relations among the nations and for the establishment of machinery tending to insure the peaceful settlements of disputes. During the last year he has argued forcibly for a revision of the debt settlements, insisting that the attempt of the United States to collect the debts would prolong the depression and contribute to international unsettlement and ill will. Despite his absorption with national and interna-

tional economic and political problems, President Butler is active in his advocacy of a broadly based cultural education. In a recent address he said:

Leisurely reading for pleasure has greatly declined. Young men often feel, if they do read, that it must be for profit, not realizing that they may profit most from something not connected with their particular line of endeavor. Specialization is bound to lead to narrowness. What we need today is not narrow men but broad men sharpened to a point. In other words, education should begin with breadth and let its applications deal with narrowness, if need be.

Dr. Butler was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1862. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1882, took his A.M. in 1883 and the Ph.D. in 1884. The next year he studied in Berlin and Paris, and joined the faculty of Columbia University as assistant in philosophy in 1885. He was later professor of philosophy and dean of the faculty of philosophy, and since 1902 has been president of the university. He received the Republican electoral votes for vice-president in 1913, Vice-President Sherman, who ran for renomination on the ticket with President Taft, having died before the votes were cast in the electoral college. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the presidential nomination in 1920. Though still a Republican, he is independent of party ties in much of his political criticism.

"STRONG MAN" OF LEAGUE

"The outstanding personality of the League Council session;" "The League's new strong man;" these are descriptive terms applied to Eamon de Valera, who, as president of the League of Nations Council, opened the thirteenth annual Assembly of the League with a stirring address. The headship of the Council goes to different nations by rotation, and this year the place is filled by Ireland's fighter leader, de Valera, chairman of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, popularly referred to as "President of Ireland."

Eamon de Valera was born in the United States. His father, of Spanish descent, came to this country, and was married to an Irish girl in New York. Eamon was born in that city in 1882. Not long thereafter the father died, and his mother sent the young son to Ireland to live with an uncle while she made her home in Rochester. Eamon quite early showed an interest in mathematics. He was graduated from the Royal University in Dublin, gained recognition as a mathematician and taught for a number of years. He took an active part in politics, felt the injustices against Ireland keenly, and joined those who were working for independence. In 1916 he was captured by the English and sentenced to death for treason. The sentence was changed to life imprisonment because the British did not wish at that time to run the risk of offending opinion in America by executing a man born in this country. Later he was set free, was imprisoned again and escaped, the British authorities learning of his escape only when they read in the newspapers about an ovation he had received in New York. He was proclaimed president of the Irish Republic in 1919, and now occupies a place which in Irish politics is comparable to the premiership of other European nations. He is working for complete independence from England and for the development of a typically Irish economic and cultural life.

KOHLER: TOWNBUILDER

Walter J. Kohler, Republican nominee for governor of Wisconsin, is one of the foremost representatives of a new ideal in American business. As head of one of the three largest plumbing fixture manufacturers



Courtesy Kohler Company
RESIDENCES IN THE TOWN OF KOHLER, WISCONSIN



EAMON DE VALERA

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

A burst water pipe in Madrid caused a flood in one of the principal streets. More trouble with the Spanish Main.

—London HUMORIST

Tea, it is revealed by those steeped in numismatic lore, serves as legal tender in Northern Manchuria, probably because it can be so conveniently liquated.

—San Jose MERCURY HERALD

Russia shouldn't feel hurt because we don't recognize her. When we think back to 1929, it's about all we can do to recognize our own country.

—Louisville HERALD-POST

Mexico has at least one advantage over the United States—when it eliminates a candidate he stays eliminated.—Escanaba DAILY PRESS

The only thing to which a racket can be compared accurately is that equally revolting and deadly thing—a cancer. It is eating its way into the tissues of our industrial and commercial life.

—Gordon L. Hofstetter

"Well, well!" remarked the town crab cheerily as he looked over the ballot. "What a perfectly marvelous number of people to vote against."

—Detroit NEWS

At the rate transatlantic flying attempts are flourishing, some philanthropic society might see what it can do about a few islands scattered at reasonable intervals.

—Indianapolis NEWS

A wizard is the person who can keep up with the neighbors and the installments at the same time.

—Chicago TIMES

A kid chewing despairingly at the end of a pencil during an examination can never be convinced that "what you don't know won't hurt you."

—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Success has a great tendency to conceal and throw a veil over the evil deeds of men.

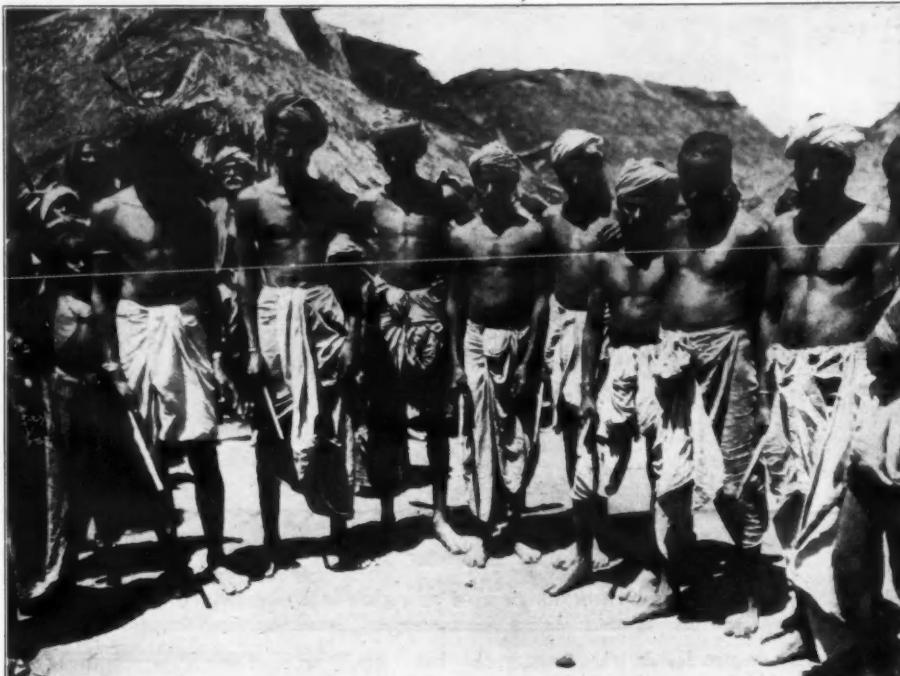
—Demosthenes

Shoe factories are operating full time. That will help put the country on its feet again.

—San Antonio EXPRESS



HE WOULD THINK OF THAT
—Talbert in Washington NEWS



A GROUP OF "UNTOUCHABLES" IN INDIA

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COMPROMISE BRINGS END TO GANDHI FAST

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

And the problem is further complicated by the fact that even the Hindus do not see eye to eye on many problems. They themselves are divided into a number of castes or social classes. Originally there were four, the Brahmin or priestly caste, the Kshatriya or warrior caste, the Vaisya or trading caste and the Sudra or serving caste. In addition to these there has always been a caste which is without caste—the "Untouchables," the depressed class. There are about 60,000,000 of these Hindus who have no position at all. They may have no contact with caste Hindus. Their shadows may not even fall across the paths of their more fortunate brethren. In some places an "Untouchable" has even been forced to carry a broom with him in order that he might efface his footprints from the streets. Lower than animals these unhappy Hindus, vastly inferior to the cow, sacred animal to all Hindus, detested, oppressed and cast aside they yet form a large part of the population of India.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

It is little wonder, then, that within the past several years two round table conferences in London have failed to arrive at a solution of the Indian problem. At each meeting the delegates were faced with the same stumblingblock—discord among the Indians themselves with regard to the place each religious and racial group should have in the proposed federation. The Mohammedan feared that he would be dominated by the Hindu, and the Hindu was apprehensive lest the Mohammedan gain too much in power. Similarly the lesser groups clamored for more representation than their numbers entitled them to.

Relations between India and Britain have been placed under severe strain during the past few years by the manner in which the Indians have sought to force the British government to grant the independence they seek. As a weapon against "British oppression" the Indians, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, have pursued a policy of non-violent civil disobedience. They have disregarded British laws and ordinances and have expressed their dissatisfaction in such ways as making salt in defiance of the British monopoly on that product. Such practice has been a constant thorn in the side of the British government, for non-violent resistance is a force difficult to combat. The government retaliated by placing violators in prison for indefinite terms. As many as 50,000 have been so treated at one time. Gandhi has himself several times been placed in jail. In fact, it was from within

the walls of Yerova Jail at Poona that he recently announced his self-imposed fast.

BRITISH VIEWPOINT

It is evident that all these elements of discord could not but greatly hamper negotiations looking to the framing of an Indian constitution designed eventually to raise India to a status of equality with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The second round table conference came to an end on December 1, 1931. It had been agreed that India should be constituted as a federation, with a national legislature. But the exact manner in which this should be arrived at could not be agreed upon. The Nationalists, the strongest political group in India, wanted nothing short of complete independence and ordered Gandhi to make such demands at the conference. The Mohammedans were not certain that it was desirable to go so far. They constantly feared domination by the Hindus. And the representatives of the 700 "native states," which do not form a part of British India and which are independent or semi-independent, expressed varying opinions on the matter.

The British government has long maintained that it is not willing to grant complete independence. It wishes to keep India within the British Empire. It is, however, disposed to give it a constitution with a considerable degree of autonomy and gradually to bring it to a position of equality with other members of the empire. The British do not feel that the Indians are yet fully capable of governing themselves and that such matters as national defense, foreign affairs and public finances should be left to the British government.

CONFERENCES

While many Indians, particularly the Nationalists, are anxious for complete independence, the plan of a federation has found general acceptance. This much, the round table conference has accomplished. But when it came to deciding on the proportion of representation each group should have, both in the provincial legislatures and in the national legislature, the conference came up against a stone wall. Prime Minister MacDonald made it clear that this was a matter on which the Indians should agree among themselves, as they would undoubtedly look with disfavor on any ap-

portionment made by the British government. Accordingly he adjourned the round table conference, but declared that it was still in session and that committees would be sent to India to attempt to work out the problem. Three committees were sent. Negotiations were carried on, but with little success. Still, the Indians could not agree. Each group was still intensely jealous of the other.

Then on June 28 the British government adopted a new policy. It stated that nothing had been accomplished by the Indians and that therefore the government would undertake to provide a solution and to decide upon the representation the various groups should have in the provincial legislatures. A plan was drawn up and made public on August 16. The significant feature of the proposal was the provision made for the depressed classes. It was the intention of the British government to assure the "Untouchables" of representation in the legislatures. In order to prevent their being outweighed by the majority in elections, it was provided that separate elections be held in some sections, in which they should select their own representatives. The government intended that in this way the "Untouchables" be certain of representation. It was also provided that they vote in the regular elections so that the members of the legislature would feel in some measure responsible to them. This feature was to last for twenty years.

GANDHI

The plan seemed acceptable to leaders of the depressed classes but Mahatma Gandhi was strongly opposed to it. Gandhi has always championed the cause of the hated "Untouchables." It is one of the primary aims of his life to do away with the discrimination which exists against them. However, he was not of the opinion that the British proposal would accomplish this aim. He felt that separate elections would tend to accentuate the position of inferiority forced upon the depressed classes and that they would be all the more hated and despised by caste Hindus. It was his profound conviction that the rights of the "Untouchables" could not be safeguarded in this way.

Mahatma Gandhi is a mystic. He obeys unflinchingly an inner voice which, he holds, directs him in his fight for his fellow men. He became convinced that ex-

treme measures were necessary to save the "Untouchables" and accordingly announced that he would "fast unto death" unless the British government revised its proposal. His threat was directed to his Hindu brethren perhaps more than it was to Britain. Prime Minister MacDonald has repeatedly stated that the question of representation should be decided by the Indians themselves, and that the government only stepped in when it was evident that such an agreement could not be reached. Moreover, he said when the plan was proposed, the government would be willing to adopt any suggestions upon which the Indians could agree. The government, therefore, had not unalterably pronounced itself in favor of the separate elections feature.

It is difficult to say what would have happened had Mahatma Gandhi been allowed to continue his fast unto death. It is probable that all the work accomplished would have gone for nothing and that India would have become the scene of violent disturbances. The masses in India revere Gandhi as a saint, and if anything had happened to him, it seems certain that it would not have been accepted quietly.

COMPROMISE

Fortunately the fast was broken when a compromise solution was announced. Hindu leaders came to agreement by which the separate elections feature to which Gandhi objected could be discarded. The leaders of the caste Hindus pledged themselves to accord the "Untouchables" a fair share of representation. A number of seats in the provincial legislatures were to be reserved for them, but there were to be no separate elections. In addition, the Hindus promised to do away with many of the discriminations against the depressed classes. They urged that the "Untouchables" be admitted to Hindu temples which have been closed to them for more than 2,000 years.

And thus the Indian question has reached another stage in its eventful history. It appears, at this time, to be a stage which promises well for ultimate successful solution of the problem. But it must be remembered that much remains to be decided upon and it seems likely that there will yet be many points of difference. The question of a national legislature remains to be solved. Until now the problem has been confined to provincial bodies.

On September 5, the British government announced that in the middle of November a smaller conference than the former round table meetings would be called in London. At that time a limited number of Indian delegates will be invited to London and an attempt will be made to work out final details.



HINDU BATHING GHAT IN CALCUTTA
Here the heathens wash their bodies to cleanse their souls.

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